



THE
Earl of *ESSEX*'s
VINDICATION
OF THE
War with *SPAIN*.

Am. J. D. Nov. 27. 1728



THE HISTORY OF

THE

EARL OF ESSEX

VINDICATION

OF THE

WAR WITH SPAIN.

T H E
Earl of *ESSEX's*,
VINDICATION
O F T H E
War with *SPAIN*.

In an APOLOGY to
Mr. ANTHONY BACON.

Penn'd by Himself, *Anno* 1598.

To which are added,

The several Speeches delivered by the
Lords of the Council, in the *Star-Chamber*,
the last Sitting in the End of *Michaelmas*
Term, 1599. in Accusation of the Earl, for
the Miscarriages of the War in *Ireland*,

V I Z.

Lord Keeper EGERTON,
Lord Treasurer BUCKHURST,
Lord High Admiral NOTTING-
HAM,

} Lord Chamberlain HUNSDON,
} Mr. Secretary CECILL,
} Sir JOHN FORTESCUE, &c.

All Publish'd from the Original Manuscripts.

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T H E
E D I T O R's
P R E F A C E.



W A R, or Peace
with *S P A I N*, has
been, for a long
Time, the Subject of all Con-
versation ; every one thinks
him-

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himself interested in the Public Good, and values himself on his Liberty of Speaking freely concerning it : For my Part, I must confess I am not *Politician* enough to determine on either Side, but having accidentally discover'd the following very curious Manuscript on the same Subject, in Queen ELIZABETH's Reign,

I .

PREFACE. iii

I think it, in a Manner, my Duty, to present it to the World, both for the Sake of its illustrious AUTHOR, and some remarkable Circumstances in it, that will give an understanding Reader the Pleasure of Comparing the present Age with the Former.

As my Interest in the Success of it is very small, I hope
my

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my Share of Censure (if it should be thought to deserve any) will be equal; I am only the Labourer who has dug this fine Peice of Antiquity from under the Ruins of Time, which had so long conceal'd it, and by Consequence am at Liberty to remark on its Beauties, and give it the Character it deserves; 'tis true the

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PREFACE. V

utmost I can say will be inferior to its Deserts, and when so great a Man as Lord *ESSEX* appears, in Person, to plead his own Cause, like *CICERO*, or *CÆSAR*, he can need no Advocate. ----- But such are the unaccountable Prejudices of Mankind, should even *CICERO*, or *CÆSAR*, with all their inimitable Vir-

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tues

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tues appear in Disgrace, who would regard them ? Who would catch the favourite Phrase as it flow'd from their Hearts, or do Justice to their Merits ? ----- This was our AUTHOR's Case, he was envied, hated, persecuted by all the Men in Power of that Day, as will appear by their bitter Speeches against him at
the

PREFACE. vii

the End of his Apology : His Actions were misrepresented, and his Character censur'd with all the Malice and Envy that such distinguish'd and eminent Virtue could inspire : He was accused as a Fomenter of Mischiefs, a Lover of War, a Deceiver of the People, and all because his great and invincible Spirit disdain-

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ed to submit to the base
Councels of those, who slav-
ishly sued for Peace with Pow-
er in their Hands; and trem-
bled at the Threats of a Mon-
arch they could so easily hum-
ble. He could not bear to see
the Glory of his Country di-
minished, or deign to be an
Instrument in the Advance-
ment of its Enemies; he knew
the

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the Firmness of a truly *Eng-
lish* Heart by his own, and
knowing that, despised every
Danger that could threaten
him in the Service of the
Publick : In short, there was
no Difficulty so great, but he
would have overcome for the
Honour of his Sovereign, and
the Safety of her Realm : No
mean and mercenary Action

but

x PREFACE.

but he would have scorn'd,
however artificially covered
with the Shew of Patriotism
and Virtue. ---- For Proof, let
us only examine the following
Sheets, and we shall be con-
vinced that no one was ever
animated with a greater or
more elevated Soul, no one
ever appeared more a Hero, in
every Paragraph is seen the Spi-
rit

PREFACE. xi

rit of the Author, fierce and
daring, yet prudent and polite :
His Respect to the Queen, his
Tendernefs for his Native
Country, his Aversion for e-
very Thing that was mean and
bafe, his Refolution in War,
his Conduct in Peace, his E-
fteem for Merit, his Gratitude
to his Friends; the SOUL-
DIER, the PATRON, the

aid.

GEN-

xii PREFACE.

GENTLEMAN, the STATES-
MAN, and the HERO com-
pound his Character ; and
in this Piece, make him emi-
nently conspicuous among the
foremost Names that ever our
Nation has produced. ---- Yet
with all these noble Qualifica-
tions, what was his Fate ?
an untimely and ignominious
Death favoured the Wish of
his

P R E F A C E. xiii

his Adversaries, and snatch'd away one of the most exalted Spirits the World ever knew ; but his Unhappiness ended not there, his Enemies took Care to hand down his Deeds in such a Light as ruin'd his Character, as well as put a Period to his Days: His Picture is now always drawn as of a rash, proud, conceited

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xiv P R E F A C E.

Favourite, who, presuming on his Sovereign's good Graces, transgress'd the Laws in a most notorious Manner, and even scorn'd the Hand that raised him. With what Justice this is done let the Reader judge, when he has read this *Apology*, which was drawn by himself the Year before his Tryal, when his Enemies
were

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were first contriving his Ruin,
and he himself became sensible
of his Danger.

'TIS a melancholy Consi-
deration, that he, who is at
the highest Pitch of Honour
and Power, is the most liable
to fall ; a thousand Instan-
ces, from the Beginning of
Government, have confirm'd
this Truth ; neither Virtue

b 2

nor

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nor Vice can save a great Man from Ruin, when popular Complaints, unsuccessful Negotiations, and powerful Factions conspire his Downfall : But there is this wide Difference in the Fate of a virtuous and wicked Minister, the Character of the first may, for a while, be sullied with Ignominy, and every Kind of Evil

to

PREFACE. xvii

to justify his Ruin ; but in the End will brighten anew, and become the Admiration of all succeeding Ages ; when the last shall be eternally forgot, or remembred only in the Curses of a provok'd and injur'd People.

HOWEVER the State of this NOBLEMAN's Miscarriages may be represented, however

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apparent his Guilt may seem to the zealous Assertors of his Sovereign's Honour, we should judge as charitably of him as we can ; we should place his Virtues, and the many eminent Services he did the Publick, in opposition to his Frailties ; and, at last, conclude that Perfection is inconsistent with Humanity : And that a
favour-

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favourable Interpretation of a
Great Man's Actions, should
be allow'd to the former Age,
as well as the Present.



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In an APOLOGY to
Mr. ANTHONY BACON.

Penn'd by Himself, *Anno* 1598.



Printed in the Year MDCCXXVIII.



T O

Mr. *Anthonie Bacon.*

An Appologie of the Earle of *Essex*,
against those which falselie and ma-
liciously take him to be the only
Hindrance of the Peace and Quiet
of his Countrie.

Penn'd by Himself, Anno 1598.



the Glasse maye shewe again his true Like-
nes unto him. The same Curiositie moves

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me

me to shewe the true Face and State of my Mynde to my true Friend, that hee, like a true Glasse, without Injurie or Flatterye, may tell me wheather a Matter or Accident have sett soe foule a Blemmish in that, as my Accusers pretend. I am charged, that, ether in Affection or Opinion, or both, I prefer Warre before Peace ; and soe, consequently, that all my Actions, Councells, and Endeavours, doe tend to keepe the State of *England* in continuall Warrs, especiallie at this Time, when some say Peace may be had, and I only impugne it : But both my Hart disclaimes from soe barbarous an Affection, and my Judgment from so absurd an Opinion, and the Reputation of a most faithful Subject, and zelous Pattriott, which with the Hazard of my Life, and Decaye of my Estate, I have sought to purchase, must not suffer so ouglie and odious Aspersion, that my Actions have caused, menteyned and increased the Warrs, or ever had anie such Scope or Intent.

First, For my Affection ; in Nature it was indifferentlie to Bookes and to Armes, and was more inflamed with the Love of Knowledge then the Love of Fame ; witness your rarelie qualified Brother, and that most learned and trulie honest Mr. *Savile* : Yea my contemplative Retirednes in *Wales*, and my Bookishnes from my Childhood ; and now, if Time, Reason, and Experience have taught mee to wish,

wish, that unto my selfe which is best for my selfe, what should I not wish rather then martiall Imployment ? in which I have impaired my Estate, lost my deare and only Brother, the halfe Arch of my House ; buried manie of my dearest and neereest Freindes ; and subjected my selfe to the Rage of the Seas ; Violence of Tempests ; Infectionns of generall Plagues, Famines, and all Kind of Wants ; Discontentments of undisciplined and unrulie Multitudes, and a Receptation of Events ; while I did not onlie leave my knowne Enemies Elbow-rowme to seeke their owne and their Friends Advancement, but was faine sometimes, uppon trust of their Protestations after newe Reconcilements, to make them the Receivers, Censurers, and Answerers of all my Dispatches. As my Affection neither in truth is, nor (if I regard my selfe) in Reason ought to be sett in those Courses of the Warrs, soe in Judgment I ever thought Warrs the Diseases and Sickneses, and Peace the true naturall, healthfull Temper of all Estates. I have thoughte excellent Myndes should come to the Warrs, as Chirurgions doe to their Patients, when noe other Remeddie will serve ; or as Men in particular Questions are allowed to challeng Combatts, when there is no Way but by the Sowrd to prove the Truth of their Plea, and to obtaine their detained Right. Yea I will goe one Degree further, I

thinke the Prince, or State, offends as much against Justice and Reason, that omitteth a faire Occasion of makinge an honourable and sage Peace, as they which rashlie and causeleslie move an unjust Warre. These Principles have binne made, and to conclude this generall Issue, common to all States, that Peace is to be preferred before Warre, I will come to an Hipothese proper to the Estate of Things, wheare the most Parte of the Wealth of the Land and Revenues of the Crown grows by Traffique and Entercourse; and whear almost all Traffique is interrupted by the Warrs, whear the State in Largenes of Territorie, and in Wealth, which is the Sinewes of the Warre, is inferiour to that of the Enimie; when, beside all forreine Warrs, there is yet a great Fire of Rebellion unquenched; wheare Associates in Warre give over the Quarrell, Neighbours are suspected, Newtralls shewe ill Affection, and the People it selfe growes wearie of the Charge and Misery of the Warre; theare, of all Places, Peace should be imbraced, if it be offered and sought for by honourable and fitt Means, if it maye be compassed. But althoughe Warrs be Diseases, yet I think it better to endure some Diseases and Sicknes, then to adventure uppon everie Medicine. I should that an Enemie maye be trusted if he offer safe Conditions, as a Phisition maye be if he give a holesome and tried Medicine: But
to

to trust an Enimye's Faith, where his Perfection shall undoe, or extreemly endanger us, and infinitelie advantage himselff, weare *Medicum Heredem facere*. Yt is noe Cure to bringe a State from a doubtfull Warre to an unsound or unsafe Treatie; it is no more then to putt a feverous Bodie out of a hot Fitt into a cold. To conclude. As an unskilfull Phisition maye, by weakening a naturall Bodie by his Medicines, bringe it from a *tertian* or *quartaine* Fever into an *hectique*, soe an unprovident Statesman may, with Conditions or Treatie, soe disarme a State of Freinds, Reputations, and Strength it hath, as the Cure maie prove far worse than the Disease: Therefore it is not the Name of Peace or Warre, but the Circumstances or Conditions of either of them, that should make us flye the one and imbrace the other. Now what are the Circumstances of our Warre or Peace with *Spaine*, it shall appeare in his proper Place in the Treatise followinge.

But e'are I passe further, least this Profession of my Disposition and Affection to Peace be chalenged to be but a faire Pretence, and these Rules, which I avowe in my Judgmente, to be compared to the Doctrine of some Divines of our Time, furthest of from their Practice; I have thought good to annswere some Objections of my Detractioners, who will say,

say, my enteringe into the Action of the *Lowe Countries*, e'are I was out of my Pupillage ; my putting my selff into the Jorne of *Portugall*, without Charge or without Licence ; my promisinge my selff the Conductinge her Majestie's Succoures to the *French King*, in the Yeare 92 ; my Sea Journies these twoe last Summers 96 and 97, wherein both my selff and my Freindes ventured deeply of our own private Meanes ; my neere Freindshipp with the cheefe Men of Action, generall Affection to the Men of Warre of our Nation ; and lastlie, my opposinge my selffe against the Treatie of Peace, at this Tyme, when others perswade unto it. That all these, I saye, are Arguments, I wish not Peace but delight in Warre. But for my goinge into the *Lowe Countries*, if neither the Companie of my Father-in-Lawe, the honorable Charge of Generall of the Horse in a fair Armie, when I was but nineteen Years ould ; the Taking of the Start of those of my own Ranke, when I sawe the State of *England* not onlie disposed to greate Actions, but ingaged in them ; if these Reasons weare not sufficient to warrant my Course, yet consider what Choice I had or what ells would I have done with my selffe : In the Court I had small Grace and few Freindes ; in my House in the Cuntreye I had been a Yere, till the Opinion of the World upbraided me with more Retiredness then was
fitt

fitt for my Yeares, or the present Time: And to have gone to travaile, when my Countreye sent fourth soe greate an Armie, had beene as much as to have turned over my Bookes onlie to gaze on the Babies and Pictures, whilst others weare studiing the Sence. For to justifie my goinge into *Portugall*, I must pleade these Circumstances: First of all, the Person with whom I went, a poore exiled Kinge, whome I had heard manye Times report the Storie of his owne Misfortunes, and Oppressions. Secondlie, the Enimye against whom I went, an insolent, cruell, and usurping Nation, that disturbed the common Peace, aspired to the Conquest of my Countreye, and was a generall Enimye to all *Christendome*. Thirdlie, in the Cause in which I went, to deliver the Oppressed fourth of the Hands of their Oppressours; and by givinge the *Spaniard* his handfull at home, both to free myne owne Countreye, and our Confederates, from the Feare and Daunger of his Attempts. And, lastlie, of the Time in which I went, a Time when myne Eies full of Disdain, had latelie seene their falselie called *Invincible Armado* saile by our Shores, when all the brave Hartes in this Kingdome boiled, till they sawe the insolent Enimye taught both to knowe him selffe, and value us; and when my Hart was perswaded by these Circumstances, I engaged my Meanes, Kinsfolks, Freinds and Followers, ells
nether

nether had the Adventure beene made uppe, nor the Jorne performed, it being noe allowed Action of her Majesties, but a meere Adventure of private Men; and when I was soe farre in, I confesse, I was not of their Humour, that love to wager uppon other Menns Hands, or sitt at Home, like Merchants, whilst their Hoopes and Goodes are returned Abroad. For my goinge without Charge and Leave, I must avow the one was out of Councell and Excuse, the other as by Necessity. I chose to goe without Charge, that I might be free to execute the lesse: I commanded not that I might be the lesse obnoxious to the Successe: And because I had overthrowne the Voiage if I had stood for the Commission, and could take no second Place, having at the same Time, and in the same Armie, had Place above the Generall. But though I had no Charge, I made my Brother Generall of the Horse, and my faithfull Freind, Sir *Roger Williams*, Colonell Generall of the Infanterie, seven or eight of my fast Freinds Colonells, and twenty, at the least, of my Domesticks Captains; soe as I might have Authoritie and Partie enough when I would. For my Want of Leave I must pleade Necessitie, her Majestie havinge resolved to send none of my Qualitie, and manye at home shewing Envie enoughe to those poore Gentlemen that weare named, which made me see
with

with what Successe I should have sued for Leave. For my conducting her Majestie's Succoures to the *French* Kinge in 61, I must alleadge, that the sendinge Succoures weare resolved on before my Name was in question, and if I had not offered my self to the Jorie some other Nobleman, that never had Place in the Warrs, might, as the Phrase is in the Canon Law, have binne promoted *per Saltem*, and soe I that neaver had her Majestie's Commission to command in Cheefe, should have seene my Punies to have leaped over my Head. Also I felt that my Fortune bred me Envie, and that Envie procured mee stronge and dangerous Oppositions, and that this Opposition would not be overcome, but by her Majestie's greate Favour, which must growe out of the Greateness of her Servants Meritts, and I sawe noe Way of Meritts lye soe open to mee as by my Service in the Warrs. The Times themselves, and my own Beginnings, fitting with it, and at that Time noe Man in my Countreye, of my Rancke, disposing himself that Waye; if, besides all this, it be considered, that I went to a Kinge whose for his admirable Valour, and often fightinge with his own Hands, was not onlie the most famous King, but the most redoubted Captaine of all *Christendome*, that the intended Service was to free the Maritime Partes of *Normandie*, from the Hands of the League and

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Power

Power of *Spaine*, that thereby the common Enimye should find lesse Succours or Favoures in the Seas: If these Things be all considered I doubt not but my *French* Journie will be sufficiently justified. But perhapps in these Actions, wheare I had no Charge at all, or was commanded by others, or offered my selfe to the Service when the Imployment was before resolved on, I havinge no Parte or Interest in the Councell, my Appollogie will bee better allowed then in my last Sea Journies, whearein I am charged to bee the Author of the Councell, as well as the Executor, of the Service. Therefore first, for the first, for the Councell of goinge to *Spaine*, I protest I had no more Parte in it then my Lord Treasurer, my Lord Admirall, and Mr. Secretarie, whoe weare all privie from the Beginninge, and did assent and advise to the Journie, as much as I did; her Majestie did first arm for the Defensive, upon the Intelligence that the Kinge of *Spaine*, did both purpose and prepare to assaile her, finding that shee strengthened the *Lowe Countries*, and *France* against him, molested him in his *Indies*, choakt him by Sea: So that his Councell resolved, that to be the shortest and easiest Way to all his Endes, to begin with *England*: And when her Majestie was armed and readie to take the Start, it was thought both a wise and a safe Councell, not to loose soe greate a Charge,
and

and soe faire an Oppertunitie: For the Project of going to *Cadex*, I have ever confessed it was my Lord Admirall's, my Colleague, if any Man will single me out to charge me alone with any Thing it must needes bee, that when all the Charge of Preparations was past, the Armie levied and marching to the Redevowes; the *Lowe Countrey* Fleet that was to join with us in their Way, that then I was as constant in the Journeye as I had been all the while before. When I might have sould the Honour of my Sovereign, the Security of my Countrey, the Contentment of our Confederates, the Hopes, and almost whole Fortunes, of almost hundrethes of my Friends (that I had drawne into the Journey) for some privie Gaine to my selffe. If any Man will use soe base a Speach, as that we offended the Kinge of *Spaine* so deeplie by that Journie, as that hee is more implacable, and further from Peace, I answer, *Vanæ sunt sine Viribus Iræ*, wee brought away and burnt his Shippinge, distroied his Provisionns; yea put him to such Charge and Losse as he shortlie after played Banckrout with all his Creditors: Let me ever see his Strength decrease, though his Mallice increase, rather then beleve in his Faith and good Nature, when his Strengthe is greate. If anie Man on other Side will object, tho' we had good Happe, yet our Designs weare nought, for it drewe the Warrs to no End: I must

confess, I neither performed what I purposed, nor thought that which was done sufficient: I purposed to dwell in a Port of the Enimies, and to make a continual Diversion of the Warrs; witnes my Letters to the Lords of the Councell, dated from *Plimmouth* the First of *June* 96, and delivered by my Secretary, *Edward Reignold*, at *Greenwich*, the Sixth of the same Month; and when I was possessed of *Cadize*, I offered to staye with 3 or 4000 Men, if the whole Fleete would have furnished us, but with three or four Monthes Victualls; witnes the whole Councell of Warre. And by that Meenes I doubted not but to have brought the Warre in those Parts of a short End, and to have made the Kinge of *Spaine* wearie of seekinge to dislodge mee; but my Lettere was neither answered nor liked of, nor I at *Cadize* able to free my selff, and the Men of Warre, till a Supplie might have come: Soe that except to have beene of the same Mynd, that all my Fellowes weare, that weare called to Councell, or to have joined with my Lord Admirall, when he offered to take an equall Commission of Commandment with me, by Sea and Land, to have fought, as I could, to weaken him, that, by all Meanes he can, seekes to destroy and conquer us. And if to have failed of doinge that which I had no Warrant or Meanes to doe, bee a Fault in my Jornie 96, what would be my Fault for my last

aft Journeye 97 ? Let it be remembred, howe
 I was brought to it, with what Councell and
 Designs I went fourth, and what weare the sad
 Causes of our Wants of such Succes, as in
 our own Hopes weare promised to our selves:
 And that if I undertooke more then Dutie
 laid uppon mee, or advised anie Thinge that
 Reason made not probable, or failed of anie
 Thinge that anie Possibilitie inabled me to, I
 will thinke the hard Censurers of mee, doe
 me noe wronge. But first, it is well known,
 that her Majestie had armed and victualled
 ten of her best Shippes, and caused the States
 of the *Lowe Countreies* to prepare the like
 Number, before ever I was spoken of to
 goe to Sea : And when my Lord *Thomas*
Howard, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who should
 have beene sent out with this Force, thought
 their Hopes, of doinge anie greate Service,
 weake and uncertaine, and the Newes of the
Adelantados Preparation, at *Faroll*, and the
Groyne, weare dailie confirmed; a new Coun-
 cell was called, in which her Majestie resolv-
 ed, that this Force prepared was to greate for
 a Discoverie, and to little for an Attempt :
 That a Fleete, inferiour to that which the *A-*
delantado commanded, might light uppon some
 Marchannts, or take Fishermen to learne some
 Newes ; but should never be in anie Possibi-
 litie to take anie of the Kinge of *Spaine's*
 Treasure, or should safelie lye on the Coast of
Spaine

Spaine or *Portugall*, being able to commande noe Port, nor daring to fight with the Enimyes Fleete when it should come out. And lastlie, that a Fleete, without an Armye to lande, might faile from Cape to Cape, and returne when their Victuals weare almost eaten, without doing other Service. For the *Adelantado* would not come forth if he liked not his Match, and the *Indian* Fleete might be staied at the *Ilandes*, or by Advises to alter their Course, as they should hardlie be interrupted. Then a new Consideration was had, what might be don with a sufficient Force by Sea and Lande; it was resolved, that not onlie *Faroll*, wheare the *Adelantado* laye, but anie Parte of *Spaine* might be entered, and the Forces of the Kinge, which should be found in it, beaten and destroyed: Or anie Port or Iland of the Enimies bee taken and fortified. Besides, the Commandinge of anie Fleete of Warre, or of Treasure, that should be mett with at Sea, if six Shippes of her Majesties, and five thousand Land Soldiers, with Vessells to transport them, weare added to the former Proportion, all which Conditions beinge agreed unto, and my Lord Admirall excusing him selfe for the Journeys, by the Indisposition of his Bodie, I had warning to take the Charge. When I went out, my first Designe was uppon *Faroll*, both by her Majestie's Commandment, and my owne Choice.

For

For when I had defeated that Forte, I might goe afterwarde whether I list, and doe almost what I list, I mean uppon anie Places uppon the Coast. And of doinge what I would uppon that Fleete and Armye at *Faroll*, I had littell Cause to doubt, if GOD had given a favourable Passage, and Season to land the Armye, and enter the Port, their Preparationns to resist beinge all knowne, and littell movinge my Distrust of the Possibilitie or Facilitie of this Kind of Enterprise. I think I have satisfied you in some of my former Papers, especiallie in my Discourse written as I came from *Cadize*, and I will satisfie anie reasonable Man that will speake with mee of it. The Advantages that would have grown by it are manifest, her Majestie's Dominionns, for a longe Time from *Spanish* Invasion, had bin secured, the Kinge of *Spaine's East and West Indian* Fleete, both goinge out and comming home, utterlie ungarded. The Takinge of all the *Spanish* and *Portugall* Ilands made easie the Voiage of the *West Indies*, warranted from two of the greatest Dangers or Encounters by Sea, and Invasion by Land, whilest her Majestie's Forces weare absent. To conclude, her Majestie had beene such an absolute Queen, and the Eni-mye foe disarmed by Sea, that shee might either force him to anie Conditions of Peace, or make Warre to her infinite Advantage, and his utter Ruine. I had alsoe thought uppon
some

some Places that might have bene houlden for
 Diversion of the Warrs: And if ever the Tak-
 inge of the *Indian* Fleete weare likelie, I
 known I should have bene in a faire Way
 for it, though, I confesse, these Hopes, soe
 uncertain as I reckon then, but by Chances,
 my first, cheefest, and maine Disignes be-
 inge to assaile the *Adelantado* in *Faroll*; *Far-
 roll* was the Randevous I gave, to *Faroll* I di-
 rectly shaped my Course, and at *Faroll* I had
 mustered the Fleete, that lay a whole Yeare
 threatninge my Countrie, or driven their Ar-
 mie into the Hills, or ells sacrificed my self.
 The Causes frustrating these Disignes, weare
 first, the violent longe Tempests which tooke
 us in the Height of 46, scattered our Fleete,
 disabled and almost drowned most of our
 principall Shipps, and when we could noe
 longer beare it uppe against the Wind, drave
 us backe uppon our owne Coasts. Next the
 unreasonable stormy Weather, which kept us
 a Month after wee weare put backe from at-
 tempting to go forth again. And lastlie, our
 Wants which caused us to discharge the whole
 Land Armie, saving a thousand Men. For my
 owne Excuse, howe long I endured e'are I
 turned backe, and to what desperrate Case I
 brought my Shipps, their be Witnessses
 enough. Also her Majestie and her Coun-
 cell, know what offer of Service I made her,
 when I came Post from *Plimmouth*, accom-
 panied

panied with Sir *Walter Raleigh* ; if she would have let me gone with the halff of the Fleet, and lesse then halff the Land Armie, to such a Place as my selffe, and the Councell of Warre, had chosen: For to be sure the Enemye, and not her Majestie, should have felt the Weight and Charge of the Journeye. And when her Majestie accepted not of the Offer, even a littell before my last going forth, I went to her Majestie to offer the Attemptinge of the Fleete in *Faroll*, if she would give me leave to hazard the thousand ould Souldiers, with some Number of the Flye-boates, and Marchants Shipps, and the Saint *Mathew*, and the Saint *Andrew*, for my selffe ; and another Commander to goe in as a Guard to the Rest, and as fitt Shipps to board the greatest of the Gallions, leavinge all the Queene's Shipps at the other principall Commanders, without in the Baie, till we had tried our Fortune: Of this latter I received Answer, tyinge me to hazard none but these, and yet with some Limitations : But I lost theare the Saint *Mathew*, by breakinge the Foremast, and lost the Companie, first of the Saint *Andrew*, e'are I came to the Opening of the *Groyne* ; and theare, the same Night, whilest I was faine to lye by the *Lee*, for stoppage of a desperate Leake, I lost the Companie of one of the Admirall's of the Squadron, by a Mischance that fell to his Shippe, with thirty

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Saile,

Saile, amongst which weare manie of the Companies of the Souldiers; soe, that in effect, I wanted all those Meanes that weare allotted for myne Attempt, and then I hovered uppe and downe, in those Heights in which I had directed such as should loose Companie to seek me in, and sent out Pinnasses everie Way, till the Admirall of the Squadron, that was missinge, sent me Word, when I was in the Height of 40, that the *Adelantado* was forth with his Fleete, and gone straight to *Tercera* to waite home the *Indian* Fleete. Then I resolved, after I had called Councell, to goe thether to seeke him; and though I failed of him, because he never offered to come forth till longe time after, yet I missed, very narrowlie, and infortunatelie of Taking of the *Indian* Fleete. If I had mett with them before they had gotten into *Tercera*, there could none of them have escaped; and mett with them I had if a false Intelligence had not made me stand, over Night, a contrarie Waye. But it was the Will of GOD theire should be noe blowe stricken that Yeare by Sea, ells, when at the same Time, when I returned from the *Ilandes*, and the *Adelantado* bare for the Coast of *England*, we had not soe narrowlie missed the one the other as we did. I have nowe shewed you, worthie Mr. *Bacon*, with what Mynd I undertooke these forreine Employments, and Actions of the Warrs, a Word for
my

my Freindshippe with the cheefest Men of Action, and Favour generallie to the Men of Warre, and then I come to the maine Objection, which is the Crossing of the Treatie in hand: For most of them, which are accounted the cheefest Men of Action, I doe entirelie love them, they have bin my Companions, both at home and abroad, some of them began the the Warrs with me, most of them have had Place under me, and manie had me a Witnesse of their Risinge from Captaines, Leive-tenants, and private Men, to those Charges, which since, by their Vertues, they have obtained. Now, that I know their Vertues, I would choose them for Freindes if I had them not, but before I had tried them, GOD in his Providence chose them for mee: I love them for my owne Sake, for I find Sweetness in their Conversations, stronge Assistance in their Employments with mee, and Happines in their Freindshipps. I love them for their Vertue's Sake, for their Greatnes of Mynd (for littell Myndes, though neaver soe full of Vertue, can be but a littell Vertuous) for their Understanding; for to understand littell, or Thinges not of use, is littell better then to understand nothinge at all: For their Affections; for soft loving Men, love Ease, Pleasure, and Profitt; but those that love Paines, Dangers, and Fame, shew that they love the Publique more then themselves. I love them

for my Countreie's Sake, for they are *England's* best antient Armor of Defence, and Weapons of Offence; if we have Peace they have purchased it, if wee must have Warrs they must manage it; yea, while we are doubtfull and intreate, we must salve our selves by what may be don, and our Enimies will value us by what hath bin done by our cheefe Men of Action. That generallie I am affected to the Men of Warre, it should not seeme strange to anie reasonable Man; it should not seeme strange, everie Man doth love those of his owne Profession; the grave Judges favour the Students of the Lawe, the Reverende Bishops the Labourers in the Ministerie, and I, since her Majestie yearelie used my Service, in her late Actions, must reckon my selff amongst her Men of Warre: Before Action, Providence makes me cherrish them for the Service they can doe; in Action, Necessitie makes me value them for their Service they doe; after Action, Experience and Thankfullness makes me value them for Service they have done. I know that greate Scandall lieth uppon the Profession of Armes, as if it weare of a Schoole of Disputation; but that grows by Commandements, and Charges given to dissolute Cheifes, and is a Fault of the Professors, not of the Profession: For a Campe ought to be, and, if it be well governed, is the best Schoole to make Religion to be truly felt, and

and Pietye and Honestie to be dailie practised; for my selffe, I am sure they that love me leest, if they that know any Thing of my Government when I am abroad, will rather taxe me for being too severe, then charge me for being too submisfe and popular. But I long to leave these Disputations, which are but Sckirmishes, and will come to joine with my Adversaries in that Encounter, wherein they labour utterlie to overthrow my Creditt, both with my Sovereigne and my Countreye. They saye, *England* cannot stand without Peace; Peace cannot grow but by Treatie, Treatie cannot be had but when the Enimye offereth, and that now, when the Enimye offereth to treat, the Doubts I cast, and Arguments I frame, doe shew I would not have her Majestie's Commissioners sent over. I answer in a Word, that if I sawe them build uppon anie one true Principle, I should not so much disfente from them as I doe: But if they will promise themselves, they may have Peace without Groundes, or thinke that Peace shall be good for us without Reason, or leape Blindfold into a Treatie, without due Circumstances; I saie, that then I doe not suspect too much, but they too littell: For a Ground that wee have Peace it is alleadged, that a Commission is come to the *Cardinall*, forth of *Spaine*, and that by Vertue of that Commission he offers to send his Deputie to meete with
her

her Majesties. What is the Conclusion? Therefore the Enimye desires and intendes Peace. Allow this for a good Silogisme, and you may put to Schoole all the Logicians in *England* or *Christendome*, it is well concluded, this shewes that he meanes to treat : But remember, how heretofore the *Spanish* King's Lieutenants, and other Commissioners, have pretended Commission when they have had none ; yea have drawn us to treat, e'are they have received their Power from *Spaine*. To conclude, Remember howe also the King hath sent a Commission out of *Spaine*, to be openlie shewed, that Treatie might be entertained, when it is notorious to the World he never meant to conclude anie Peace : Witnes of all this, the Duke of *Parma* his Want of a Commission when he drew by his Letteres, my Lord of *Darbie*, *Cobham*, and other Commissioners, to the Treatie of *Borborch*, to agree to Peace, and afterward the Comminge of a Commission, when their great Navie did presentlie appeare uppon our Coasts for the Conquest of *England*. But doe they offer to treat and meane no Peace ; What is then their Meaning ? If you will have me interpreete, I will tell you their first maine Attempt against *England* was in 88, from that Time to this present, it is full ten Years, the just Time of the Seige of *Troye*, and now they see open Force will not prevail, they, in Shew, retire
and

and give over Armes, but have prepared *Sinoun's* Horſe which cannot enter, if we caſt not down our owne Walls. But becauſe we are thought more credulous then the *Troyans* weare, the bare Letter of a baſe, beggerlie, traiterous *Fugitive* aſſuring us, that good Faith is meant, is their uttermoſt Stratagem they uſe to deceive us ; but though ſome beleive it, I ſaie, *Timeo Danaos & dona ferentes*. If they appeale from my Expoſition, let their Actions expound themſelves, will themſelves charge us at *Borborch* to agree to Peace ; or will they have us beleive that the Duke of *Medina* came, with that huge Fleete and Armie, onlie to be Witneſs of the Contracte ; or if they had rather their owne Words ſhould expound their Meaning, then their Actions, heare *Emanuel Lewis*, the *Portugall*, that brought *Lopez*, and *Stephana Ferara* Aſſurance of the fifty thouſand Crownes, to be paid as ſoone as their diviliſh Conſpiracie, againſt the Life of our precious Sovereigne, ſhould take Effect. Heare him, I ſaie, who, at his Arraignement at *Guild-hall*, confeſſed at the Barre, in their Sipher and Algoriſme, when they wrote of Peace they intended the Death and Murder of her Maieſtie : Or if the Peace muſt not be condemned to be inſidious, but under twoe Witneſſes, heare alſoe *Anthonie Rolls*, now Priſoner in the *Tower* of *London*, who comming hether out of *Spaine*,
with

with a Pretence of Making an Overture of Peace, and for better Token, bringinge Letteres to her Majestie, to your selffe, and to mee, from *Creswell* the Jesuite, to that End, confessed uppon his Examination, taken by Mr. Secratarie, and my selffe, that his true Errande, given him by some of the Kinge of *Spaine's* cheefest Ministers, was to discover the State of our Preparation, to assure the Papiſts of *England*, that they might shortlie expect their Deliverance, to winne some Councellors about her Majestie, or Noblemen in this Kingdome, to favour their Cause, and to offer me, from their *Spanish* Kinge, what Title, Pension, or Somme of Monie I would desire, soe as I would become to take their Parties. Nowe judge (worthie Mr. *Bacon*) out of the Cleernes of your owne Judgment, howe I should understand their Offer and Speech of Peace, and thinke, out of the Worthiness of your owne Hart, what Peace my Hart could take with them, that have attempted to conquer my Countrey, to Murther my Soveraigne, and sought out me as a fitt Man to bee tempted to betraye both my Queen and Countreye. But if GOD had not put me backe, and arrested me by contrarie Winds and Tempests, this last Sommer, I should have taught that proud Kinge, what Effect his Offers had wrought in me ; and the longer the Will of GOD, and my Soveraigne, doe restraine mee with

with the greater Interest, I hope to repay him in the End. But our Peacemakers maye alleadge, that Times are changed, and with Time the Humours of Princes, and Affaires of States doe commonlie change : Soe as heretofore there was noe Trust to be given to the Enemie's Word, or faire Showes ; yet nowe the Humor, or the Consideration of his owne Affaires, may dispose him to make a Peace : For my Parte, e'are I can beleeeve he is of such a peaceable Humour, I must knowe howe his Ambitions, and revengfull Humoures, are either satisfied or quenched : Satisfied they cannot be, for he hath received overthrowes, Incounters, ill Successe, and Attempts, and Losse, and Scorne, in all the Warrs hee hath had with her Majestie : Quenched they are not like to bee ; for if Apprehension of Death would have quenched them, he would not the last Yeare, when he came newlie out of that Traunce, which was thought would have bin his last Sound, have asked, the first Word he spake, wheather the *Adelantado* weare come into *England* ? Or if Remorce of Conscience would have quenched them, he would not in his Devotions, beinge at Masse, have vowed to be revenged of *England*, though he sould all to the Candlesticks uppon the Alter before him. Of the first of these Speeches my selff, and some of my fellow Councillors have seene very credible Advertisements out of *Spaine*.

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And

And the second was delivered, both to you and me, by the Mouth of a principall Jesuite, newlie come from *Spaine*. But we may well conclude, that this Humour is not like to change, for he will neaver thinke, that he hath a sufficient Parte of the Earth, till his Mouth be full of Earth; and some of his ghostly Fathers, the Jesuites, will as well perswade, that the Invasion of other Princes Kingdomes, is a Worke of Pietie, as they doe teach desperate Conspirators, that to murther Princes is the Waye to Heaven; and if he should dye to Morrow, his Sonns Blood is hotter, and his Humour of Ambition is like to be greater. He hath bin bred in *Domo Regnatrice*, and his Mynd shewes to be alreadie swolne *veteri atque Infita Austriacæ Familiæ Superbia*; soe as in their peaceable Humours, their being noe Hope, let us see what is the present State of their Affaires. Princes or States, when they enter into Consideration of their owne Affaires, maye dispose themselves to Peace for Utilitie, Conveniencie, or for Necessitie; for Utilitie, if they can get Advantage; for Conveniencie, if Peace be fittest to concerne them in the State they are; for Necessity, when they have no longer Meanes to make Warre. That it is like the Kinge of *Spaine*, will make Peace with us, because he shall gett Advantage of us; they Peacemakers shall not agree, and if they do, it is our own Fault; if wee
fall

fall into the Pitt, which they shew us so plaine-
 lie, that he should not be inclined to Peace
 with *England* for Conveniencie, if neither Ad-
 vantage intice him, nor Necessity enforce him.
 I reason thus, all Estates stande as much by
 Reputation, as by Strengthe; especiallie, wheare
 their Dominions be farre devided, and wheare
 a fewe of one Nation give the Lawe to greate
 Multitudes of manie: Now let the *Indies*, the
Lowe Countreies, *Naples*, and *Millaine* see, that
Spaine, that hath soe long tirrannised over
 them, is gladd, after so manie Overthrowes,
 Disgraces, and Losses, to make Peace with
England uppon equall Tearmes, and they will
 know that the *Spainiards* are but *Hombres*,
 come, *les otras*; and that it hath bin basenes in
 them all this while, *Servitatem suam quotidie*
emere, quotidie pascere: Soe as I conclude, by
 such a Peace, the *Spainiard* should loose all
 Reputation of his Armies, and Terror of his
 Greatnes, and his Countreies would not have
 bin kept from revolting by anie Possibilitie;
 and therefore Conveniencie could not move
 him to Peace with us: That Necessitie or want
 of Meanes to make Warre, should drive him
 to it, I thinke it both improbable, that he
 which soe latelie assailed *England*, *France*, and
 the *Lowe Countreies* at once, having now brok-
 en the Band of our League, and devided
France from the other twoe, should thinke
 himselfe unable to menteine the Warre with

us, impossible that he should want Meanes, for wants he Treasure ; his Partido to pay his Armies is made with the *Genowaies* for a longe Time to come : And as his Enterprises are his Ebbe-tides, to make his Treasure runne lowe ; soe his *Indian* Returnes are his Floods, that fill his Bankes againe. Wants he Men, why, besides his newe Levies, hee hath those Forces that weare imployed in *France*, free to be used against us. Wants he Shipps, he buildes everie Daie, and maye imbarke in *Spaine*, as manie as he will or list, and now both combininge with the *Esterlings*, and conspiringe with them against us. Wants he Victuales, besides the Helpes he is wont to have, he shall now, by the Peace in *France*, have as much as he list. Soe that I conclude, which Waye soever I turne my selffe, I see noe likelihood of his disposinge him selffe to Peace with us : And if noe Peace be to be had, noe Treatie is to be entered into, for him by entertayninge Treatie wee can drawe nor free nobodie, and he may make us, and our Confederates, soe jealous one of the other, as in strivinge to take the Start, wee should strive who should loose themselves first ; but if I allow our Peacemakers their Assurance of Peace. Let us see what is our Purchase, if they can make anie Peace with *Spaine* good for us, it must be by including our Confederates of the *Lowe Countries*, or excludinge them ; but I suppose

suppose nether of these can be good or safe for us, therefore I judge they can make noe good Peace at all. To conclude the *Lowe Countries* in one Peace is impossible, except they acknowledge the Kinge of *Spaine*, or him that shall claime under him, for their Sovereigne, as Duke of *Burgundie*, which if they doe, all Things els, which should give Power to the Enimye, and bringe Slaverie to the *Netherlands*, and Danger uppon us, will necessarilie followe. The Reason is manifest, for when the Authoritie of the *Generall States*, and the present Forme of Government of the *United Provinces* shall be broken and dissolved, a Monarchie set uppe, and a Prince acknowledged, there shall nothinge limitt the Princes Absolutenes, but his owne Will ; the Strength of a Contract cannot limitt it : For nether will he keepe Faith with those whom he counteth *Heretiques*, and calleth Rebels, nether will they make anie longer Delaie to betraye themselves; for Province will strive with Province, Towne with Towne, and Man with Man, who shall be most obnoxious, and shew themselves not servile, all Care of Defence neglected, by Myndes bewitched with Name of Peace ; all Memorie of former Tiranie blotted forth of Harts, resolved to accept a Sovereigne : Some will seeke for Charge of Souldiers, some for Magistracie in Townes, some for Gatheringe of Customes, and Hould-
inge

inge of Moneye, some for Offices of Justice, some for Benifices, and spiritual Livinges, all for Trade into *Spaine*, and into the *Indies*, everie Man for private Gaine, and noe Man for publique Safetie. The Magistrates and Governours, cannot, limitt for the cheefe Men that nowe beare Rule, in martiall or civill Government, will provide for Flight, for their owne Safetie. For if the brave Count *Egmont* bought his Trust and Confidence in his Majestie, with the Price of his Head (what shall my *Lowe Countrie* Subject trust in ?) when his many memorable Services, especiallie those two famous Battells, of *Gravelinge* and Saint *Quintins*, and his Puttinge him selff into the *Spaniardes* Handes, could not overwey the Suspition of Combininge with the Revoltors : What Hope of future Meritt shall waigh downe the Fence of those which have, by Councill or Action, meinteined the State of *United Provinces* against *Spaine* ? Garrisons, nor Troupes of Souldiers, can limitt it, for there will bee noe Meanes to paie them : When anie Thinge, above the Kinge's ordinarie Rents or Duties, is required of the People, it will be answered, is he our Enimie, why doe we acknowledge him ? Is he our Prince, why are we armed against him as against an Enimye ? Besides, allow Strangers on both Sides, and the Enimye will oppresse them uppon a Soddeine, with Force ; for his Meanes dependes uppon him selff, the others uppon the Will of a People,

People, that will be glad to spare their Pur-
ses, when they see present Warrs and Levies,
and the Enimies Number will be farre greater
then the *States*: Banish Strangers on both
Sides, and yet the Enimye shall be strengthened
with *Spaniolized Netherlanderes*, and the *States*
defended but by such as shall take Oath to the
Enimie.

Stipulation of the Princes cannot limmit it,
for the State will be oppressed on a Soddaine,
when there Helpe will come to late; and those
Princes that weare glade to make Peace when
the Enimie was weake, themselves united, and
the *Lowe Countries* flourishing, will not begin
a new Quarrell; when the Enimies Strength
is recovered, themselves devided, and the
Lowe Countryes lost; yet those that I have
named, are the best Assureances, that either
our Peacemakers can propound, or the *United*
Provinces. I will add further, that as it is un-
certaine, that noe Peace is to be had for the
United Provinces, except a Sovereigne be ac-
knowledged; so it is without all doubt, they
cannot be included, except *Popish* Relegion be
ether universallie established, or at least free-
ly exercised in the Townes and Provinces wheare
now it is banished. Allow the First, and they
banish GOD's true Service to bringe in Idola-
trie, they leave Truth to receive Falsehood,
they refuse the Protexion of the most merci-
full GOD of Heaven, for to winne the Fa-
vour

your of the most tirrannicall Prince on the Earth. Allow but the Second a Pluralitie of Religion, which is lesse, and yet against the Pollicye of all States; because, wheare theare is not a Unitie in the Church, theare can be noe Order nor Unitie in State; yea, it is the manifest Ruine of the State; for, as the mingling of Poison with holesome Liquour in one Vessell, doth not correct that which is Lethall, but Corrupts that which is Holesome: Soe the poisoned Doctrine of their venificall *Espanolized* Jesuites once brought in, will quicklie leave noe Professors in all the *United Provinces*: So that I conclude, it weare both Follie and Impietie in them to make anie such Peace, or for us to draw them to it; yea, more Follie in us, then ever was committed in any State, for what will not the Enimye be able to doe uppon us; when besides, the Forces he now hath, he shall have a Countrey in his Handes, able to find him fixtie or eightie thousand Souldiers, three hundred Shippes of Warre, besides infinite Numbers of transporting Vessels and commodious Ports, that are but a Daye's Sailinge from the verrie Hart of *England*? But the *Lowe Countreies* are given to the *Infant*, She married to the Arch-duke *Albert*, Sonne-in-Lawe to the deceased Kinge, and so that devided from the Crowne of *Spaine* in a farre safer Hand; for the Disuniteinge of the *Infant*, is if the Kinge
 of

of *Spaine* have no Children, to be Heire to her Brother, and her Brother in like Case unto her, and then are these States disunited. The onlie likelihood of remayninge severed is, if they both have two Children, and yet, since almost none of that House marrie further of then Cousin Germanes, I see not why we should not expect their Conjunction by such a Contract : But allow them severed, is not *Albert* Sone-in-Lawe to the deceased Kinge, and Brother-in-Lawe to the present ? Is hee not to be backed with the Force of *Spaine*, and mentained with the Purse of *Spaine* ? Will he not serve a *Spanish* Kinges Turne, as well to winne in a Warre against *England*, as the Duke of *Savoy*, that married the other Sister, did in Warre against *France* ? Naie hath he not a suspected Strengthe of his owne, by beinge Brother to the present Emperour, and noe unlikelie Hope to be Emperour him selff hereafter ? Naie, is not the *Infante* the Person whose Title to the Crowne of *England* *Parsons* foe laboureth to prove ? Is not the *Lowe Countreies* the Rise by which she must leape into *England* ? Is not such a Peace as this in Hand, the Meanes to assure her of all the *Lowe Countreies* ? Is not the Armie which is now under the now Husband, the Force on which the Enimie, for the Interprise of *England*, must sett his Rest ? Yes, yes, the Coherencee is manifest, and their Dissignes clear-

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lie discovered ; and it is too plain what is to be expected of our Peace, yf we include the *Lowe Countreies*. Now let us examine how good it will be if we abandon them ; I have ever thought that such a Peace might be good, if they that perswade unto it can prove three Things. First, that they of the *Lowe Countreies* will have both Will and Strength to mainteine the Warrs, though we make Peace. Secondlie, so we leave them, we may have good Conditions our selves. And, thirdlie, that as our Affaires now stand, a Neutralitie can be possible kept by us, whilest the *United Provinces*, and the Enimie are at Warre. In the Will of the *Lowe Countreies*, to continewe Warre, and to Refuse all Conditions that the Enimie shall offer, I understand the Resolutions of the Councell and Governours of the State, and the Conformitie of the People to such a Resolution. In the Strength, I meane as well the Strengthe of the Governours to force the People, if they be averst, as the Strengthe and iufficiencie of the Meanes, to indure foe greate and sharpe a Warre, as will fall uppon them of the cheefe Governours resolvinge, there may be these Donbts, that they shall be tempted with the Enemies Offers, who, if he can, will purchase them severally, that he may traduce them universallie : And they shall be terrified with the Daunger of the Councell ; for it soundes both harshlie a forehand, and like

like to fall out unsuccessively at the very first, the Enimie beinge soe much Maister of the Field, as some Places will be carried. I know they do pretend to be resolute in Warre, and protest against giving eare to Treatie ; but what may be either to move us to Example, or to make us leave pressinge of them to treat, or to seem to hould out to the very last, that we may seeme rather to have undone them, then they to undoe themselves : But if they, uppon mature Deliberation, should choose the Continuance of Warrs, as the lesse of Evells, yet that the People will be like affected, it is not probable ; for when a People have bin long tired with the Miserie of Warre, shall heare that pleasinge Name of Peace. When they, that had two mightie Princes joined with them in a streight Offensive and Defensive League, shall see themselves abandoned, first by *France* and then by *England* : When on the one Side, for Manteynance of the Warre, they shall have greate and newe Contributions demanded of them ; and on the other Side, that they shall be offered all plaufible Conditions of Peace, and when they shall see *England*, by making Peace, gett the Trade of *Spaine* from them, and they alone, by standing out, shall be barred of that Navigation which hath made them soe mightie in Shippinge, and soe increased in Wealth, and Riches ; what then the Multitude is like-

lie to choose, it is easie to judge : And if the People be not Conformable of themselves, how by the Authoritie of the Governours of the *State*, which are called the *Generall States*, they may be forced, I do not well see. First, because it is not an absolute, and necessarie, but a limitted and voluntarie Obedience, which they yeald. Secondlie, because their State hath not as the State of *Rome* had, nor the State of *Venice* hath, one Place that as the Head doth command and direct all the Partes of the Bodie followinge, but is compounded of equall Partes. *Zeland* is as absolute as *Holland*, *Freeſeland* as either of them ; yea not onlie the least Province, but even the least Towne, houldes it selff to have a Kinde of Soveraigntie, and will have as free a Voice as the greatest. Thirdlie, because of their former Manner of Proceadinges, which hath not been to send out Commandment to bynd, but Deputies to perswade ; not to Resolve, and conclude in the greatest Causes in anie one Councell of Assembly, but to sound and feele the Disposition of everie Parte, and soe to winne them to like of that which they have devised of.

And, lastlie, for because even amonge themselves they are, for the Time, *Generall States*, there is noe likelihood to be an Unanimitie, in Obedience and Opinion, and then, though they that dissent being few, will not beare the Envie to stand in Councell against the greater Parte ;

Parte ; yet is it easie for them, when they
 come home, to worke in the Particular, and
 in such Townes as will discuse them of that
 which shall be propounded to all, as the Re-
 solution will sticke, and the whole be over-
 throwne ; yet it being unsafe for them to de-
 ny Libertie of Voice to anie such Demand,
 beinge the true Cause of their takinge Armes,
 and standinge out against the common Eni-
 mie. But admitt both by the Government, of
 the State and People, it weare resolved, that
 the *Lowe Countreies* alone should remaine in
 Warre, how are there Meanes, or is there
 Strength likelie to maintain Warre : Of all
 forraine Helpe they are utterlie destitute,
France maketh noe Diversiſion, *Englande* can
 yeald noe Succours, and in all *Christendome*
 there is noe Prince, or State likelie or able to
 helpe and back them ; their owne Meanes
 and Abilities growe either by Fruites of the
 Earth, or by Traffique and Merchandice : For
 the Fruites of the Earth, that Means is likelie
 to be but small, for the Enimie beinge Master
 of the Feild, and able to divide his Forces in-
 to divers Places, will everie Daie, either wine
 from them Parte of that they hould, or at
 the least ſoe infeſt thoſe Partes, that are in the
States Obedience, as (except it be in *Holland* and
Zeland, which the Enimie cannot yet come
 to) the Huſbandrie will be ill followed, and
 yeald littell Profit : And as for their Meanes
 by

by Traffique, it is unlike that Merchants, that maie remove their Dwelling to peaceable Places, neere hand, wheare they maie have safe and free Trade, will remaine in the *Lowe Countreies*, which onlie is in Warrs of all these Parts of *Christendome*. And if they keepe their Dwellings, yet will *Spaine*, without all Doubt, banish them trade into *Spaine*, when both *France*, and *England*, and the *Esterlinges*, shall supplie him, and will seeke both to banish and impeach them of their Trades as much as he can, pretendinge that they are now the onlie Perturbers of the Peace of all *Christendome*. Soe as I conclude, when I thinke with my selffe, what the Governours of the State in the *United Provinces* are like to resolve, and what the People in Generall will be like to desire, how hardlie the Multitude will be forced against their liking ; or the Meanes of the *Lowe Countreies* is able to make them subsist of themselves : I see nothinge but Danger, that the Enimie will be shortlie and sodainlie Master of all that Counterie, which, how much it importeth us to prevent it, hath before beene made plaine. I will consider what Conditions we are like to have for our selves, soe we will forsake our Confederates : Restitution of Place we cannot demand as *France* did, for the Enimie houldes none of ours ; Reparation of Damage we can as littell seeke for, from him we have sustained noe Losse ; and Trade

Trade into the *Indies* our zelous Peacemakers will not stand for, least the Enimie offended will grant noe Peace ; Traffique into *Spaine* and *Portugall* we shall have, and that is the onlie Condition that carries away a Show of Advantage unto us : But if we do well confider, how greedie our Merchantes will be of such a Trade at the First, and how easie it will be for a Faith-breaking Enimye to Confiscate all our Countymenn's Goods, and to imbarge and use *English* Shippinge against *England*, we would not bragg too much of that Advantage. But on the other Side, he will require Alteration in our Government, or in the Execution of our Lawes for Matter of Religion; delivering up of the Townes her Majestie hath in the *Low* *Couutreies*, and Reparations for all the Damages received by the Warre. The first, is a Condition, only befitting a Conquerour, to impose and unfitt for a brave State, that in all the Warrs, hath hetherto had the better once to heare mentioned. The second should neaver be asked of a Queen so just, as she will not deliver up the Keies of a Countrey delivered her by her best Confederates, into the Handes of her greatest Enimie ; more a Prince so wise as she, will never add Strength to him, whose Strength alreadie she holdes so much suspected ; nor inable him to invade, whose Ambition and Mallice thirsteth after
both

both Invasion and Conquest. The third Condition is impossible to be granted; for the Losse which the *Spanish* King hath received in these Warrs, amounteth to a greater Summe, then the Treasure of all the Kinges in *Christendome*. If it be asked howe I know these Conditions will be demanded? I answer, that I learned *Albertus's* Mynde, of *Albertus* himselfe, and the *Spanish* Conditions out of the Instructions given to the *Spanish* Commissioners. If it be said, though that in the intercepted Letters and Instructions to the *Spanish* Commissioners, such Conditions weare to be asked, but neaver meant they should be insisted uppon? I answer, that in the Instructions, it is expresselie set downe in the first and third Condition, the Legate shall bee pressed to move the *French* King to stand with them in obeyninge them. And for the Second, if the *English* Commissioners do cutt of all Hope of Deliveringe the Townes, then the Treatie shall instantlie breake; which is as much as if they should saie, except *England* will give us the Keies of the *Lowe Countreies*, wheareby we maye Reduce the *Lowe Countreies*, and let us have the Port of *Flushing* in, which our Gallies maye winter, and from which wee maye sett our Fleet for the Conquest of *England*, whensoever we will breake; we will have noe Peace with *England* but for a Time. But if it be granted, that the *Lowe Countreies* will

will mainteine the Warrs alone, and that *Spaine* will grant us good Conditions, soe wee abandon the *States*; how will it appeare, that it is possible for us, betwixt them twoe, to houlde a Neutralitie : If we doe not show the *United Provinces* some Favour under hand, at least by lettinge them be served, of such of our Nation as will voluntarilie offer them selves unto them, their State cannot be mainetained, nor they kept our Freinds whom we suffer to perish of the other Side, if we doe them, in this Kind, or in anie other, anie Favour that shall keepe them from perishing; we gave *Spaine*, and the Arch-duke, a juste Quarrel, and so make them of new Freindes become our Enimies. Besides, her Majestie hath bestowed, in the Action of the *Low Countries*, at the least four Millions of Crowns, and she hath in Pawne, for the Debt which the *States* owe her, the Towne of *Flushing* and *Brill*, to reinburse that which is due, and mainteine the Warrs. The *Sates*, are utterlie unable to deliver the Townes without reinbursement, we are utterlie to loose all the Treasure spent, and the Authoritie, and Bridle, which her Majestie hath uppon that Parte, which is one of the greatest Securities of her State, to keepe them, especiallie *Flushing*, and remaine in Neutralitie, to my Understandinge, seemes altogether impossible : For when the

Enimie shall see, that neither by Treatie, nor by Offer of his large Conditions, the *State* will be wonne, he will assaile them by Force; yea, he will take that away which shall be shortest and easiest for Reduction of the whole, which will be to bringe his Gallies into their Rivers, and to transport his Men into their *Ilandes*; for soe, by passinge into *Zeland*, he shall make his Way into *Holland*, and if he have good footing out in those twoe Provinces, he is straight Master of the whole State. Yf *Flushing*, which is the onlie Bulwarke against *Flanders*, and the Castle of *Ramkins*, which commandes the River of the *Scheldt*, should not impeach nor offend the Enimie, he will carrie all the Rest of the *Iland* of *Wolchoron*, and so consequentlie all *Zeland*. If after he is become her Majestie's Freind, he be used as an Enimie by the Place she houldes, the Peace is broken; but though it weare proved neaver so fullie, that the Peace which wee may have (if wee have anie at all) is full of Dangers and Inconveniencies. Yet some are so Zealous of it as they will saie, it is the Miserie of our State, that we can never have a good Peace, nor a good Warre, and of two Evells it is better to have a practised Peace, then an unprofitable Warre. But injurious are those Men to the Men of Warre, that fight for them, and defend them, in thinkinge our
Armes,

Armes, which have bin Honour to our Nation, and stricken Terror into the Hartes of our Enimies, lesse able to defend our Countreie, then their Treaties, which have neaver bin free from Scorne and Dissadvantage ; injurious are they to their Countreie which hath bred them, which beinge one of the bravest, strongest, and happiest States of *Christendome*, is judged by these Men to be as weake as their owne weake Hartes. Injurious they are to her Majestie that hath made them, who beinge soe greate and soe vertuous a Queene, shall be judged unable to mainetaine Warre, when she cannot have Peace ; but at the Pleasure of her Enimies, who stand in Feare of her, and whome her Power hath mightilie weakened. Injurious, and most unthankful are they, to GOD him selff, that hetherto fought for them, in that for an unsafe Peace, with an idolatrous and irreligious Nation, they would leave an honourable and just Warre : When they have all don what they can, if the Enimie will not conclude a Peace, we must have Warre ; and shall not reasonable Men be perswaded, as well by Necessitie of Reason, as by Necessitie of Fortune ? But wherein doe they find such insufficiencie to mainetaine the Warrs ; our Navie, as also that of our Confederates, was never stronger, nor the Enimie, in Shippinge, halff soe weake ; our Nation general-

lie was neaver foe Martiall, nor neaver had foe manie Leaders. Our Confederates, in the *Lowe Countreies*, whoe beinge firmlie linct unto us, are of more Use then all the Freindes in *Christendome*, that ever we had or can have: They, I saie, were never more resolute; *France* hath left us, we are eased of manie Charges, and shall make the Warrs in fewer Places. *Ireland* is chargeable; that Charge may well be borne, when it is almost the sole Burden that lieth uppon us; yet if theare be anie Weakenes in our Meanes to make Warre, it is our Cowardice; but if it be considered, how for this present Yeare, *Spaine* hath noe Abilitie to assaile us; howe the next Yeare the yearlie Subsidies will begin to be paid; howe in *France* wee have an End of all Charges, and are now to receive reinbursement of all that is due; howe, in the *Lowe Countreies*, her Majestie's Expences may likewise cease, and she receive some Helpe towards her other Charges. Though her Majestie's Treasures be drawne deepe into, and the poore Husbandmen, by these late hard Yeares, have now scant Meanes to live; yet, if our sumptuous Buildinges, if our surfettinge Diets, our prodigallitie in Garments, our infinite Plate, and costlie Furniture of Houses, be considered, *England* cannot be poore. Can we exceede all the Nations in *Christendome* in Expencefull Vanities,

ties, and cannot we arme our selves against a Nation (which we have ever beaten) for our necessarie Defence ? Was *Rome* so brave a State, as the verie Ladies to supplie the common Treasure to maineteine the Warrs, spoiled themselves of their Jewells and rich Ornaments ? And is *England* soe base an Estate, as the Men in it will not bestowe some of their superfluous Expences to keepe themselves from Conquest and Slaverie ? Did the Kinges, and the religious People, which we reade of in the *Ould Testament*, to maineteine the Warrs against the Enimies of GOD, sell the Ornaments of the *Temple*, and Things consecrated to holie Uses, and shall we, which have as holie a Warre, spare those Things which are dedicated to our idle and sensuall Pleasures ? Should our Nation, in those gallant former Ages, when our Countreie was farr more poore then it is now, leavie Armies, make Warrs, atchive greate Conquests in *France*, and make our powerfull Armies knowne, as farr as the *Holy Land* ? And is this, such a degenerate Age, as we shall not be able to defend *England* ? Noe, noe, there is yet some Seede left of that antient Vertue. Remember with what Spiritt, and Alacritie, the Gentlemen of *England* have put them selves voluntarilie into our late Actions : There will ever be found some *Valerij*, that so the State may stand and flourish ;
care

care not though they leave not to bury themselves; though others burie their Money, not caring, in what Case they leave the Estate. We, Thanks be to GOD, have a Queene who never hath beene Wastfull in her private Expences, will sell her Plate and Jewells, in the *Tower*, ere her People shall be undefended. We are a People, that will turne our filken Coates into iron Coates, and our silver Plate into Coates of Plate, rather then our Sovereigne and Countreie shall be enslaved. But why should ether Prince or People be put to such Extremities? If her Majestie will bestow but sixty thousand Pounds a Yeare, which the *Lowe Countreies* do cost her, and the twenty thousand Pounds a Yeare, which the *States* do offer her, and twenty thousand Pounds more, which I doubt not but maie be drawne, by Way of Reinbursement, from the *French* King. This hundred thousand Pounds a Yeare, with half as much more, bestowed by the *States* (who, to engage her Majestie in Maintenance of the Warrs, will never shrink for their Proportion) this Somme, I saie, of a hundred and fifty thousand Pounds, put into the Handes of a sufficient Treasurer for the Warrs, and to be issued by Warrant of a Councell of Warre well chosen, will fullie and sufficientlie mainteine the Warrs with *Spaine*. Yea, if this be doubted, it shall be made plaine, that with this hun-

hundred and fifty thousand Pounds such a Force shall be mainetained, that her Majestie, leavinge of a convenient Number of her Shipps, repairinge and furnishinge of them, as she usuallie and yearlie doth, the Enimie shall bringe noe Fleet into the Seas for *England, Ireland,* and the *Lowe Countreies*, but it shall be beaten, nor seeke to gather none in *Spaine*, but the Partes of it shall be defeated, before the whole be assembled ; yea those Services shall be done uppon the Enimie, that the porest Prince, or State of *Christendome*, shall have littell Cause to feare his Malice. But of this Question, wheather we should thinke the Peace good for us, which the Peacemakers would procure, I have stoode longe enoughe. I come now to the last Question of all, Whether they do enter into the Treatie of it with due Circumstances. My Purpose is not to deale with Complements, Circumstances, or Puntills of Honour, though I judge them, in their proper Time and Place, worthie of due Consideration. But the materiall Circumstances which anie Prince or State should weigh, before they enter into Treatie, I judge to be these. 1. The Time of Treatinge, wheather the Season yeald most Advantage for Peace, or for Warre. 2. The Persons of the Treaitours. 3. Whether the Enimie we treat with, or noe, maie make Advantage by Pre-
tence,

tence, if nothinge be concluded. 4. The Assurance of the Treatie, or Strength of the Knot that is tied, and the Condition and State we are like to be in, whensoever it breakes, or dissolves. The onlie Reason, that these which would have Peace doe use, to prove this Season fittest, and yeildes most Advantage for Peace, is, that now the Kinge of *Spaine's* foe poore and weake, as he would be brought to that which he neither could heretofore, nor will hereafter agree unto ; therefore, saie they, nowe is the onlie Season for Peace. But surelie unlesse they weare better Logicians, or could frame better Arguments, I could scarfe wish them to be trusted, with arguinge of a Treatie, their Conclusion is foe directlie contradictorie to their owne Proposition : For is he now least able, of all Times to encounter us in Warrs ? Is this the Season he chooseth to recover him selffe by Peace ? Then, of all Times, Peace nowe should be least granted him. Nowe, nowe is the Time, and fittest Season, to make Warre uppon the *Spaniard* : His Losses are not recovered, his Coffers not filled, his Fleete not made, his Sea Provisions not supplied, his *Indies* not quiet, his Sonne-in-Lawe, in his new Soveraigntie, not settled. But her Majestie's late Victories have made Way to her greater and higher Attempts ; Terror accompanies the
Power-

Powerfulnes of her Armies, Feare possesseth the Hartes of her Enimies, GOD himselffe, by the Successe, hath judged her Cause, all the World hath seene what hath happened, and of Actions past it is the common Conclusion, *victrix causæ Diis placuit*. So on the other Side, nowe, of all Times, it is the fittest Season to make Peace, when the State of our best Confederates is soe undermined by Practices, threatened with Force, and sollicitated to their owne Undoinge by forreine Princes, as except we both incourage them, and cleave fast to them, their Ruine is at Hand. Now is the Time to make Peace with the cheefest Enimies of our Religion, when a Conspiracie it in hand against all the Professors of it. The Newes is too rife, and too credible, that this undertaking *Pope*, after his glorious Victories of *Ferrara*, and his powerfull Reconcilinge of two greate Kinges, in the Heate of soe greate a Warre, that now he will not leave till hee make a generall League against all such as doe not, or will not, acknowledge the Omnipotencie of his *Bulls*. Now if we shew ourselves soe weake, as wee follow not the Advantage wee have, we shall hereafter be brought soe weake, as wee maie have anie Conditions imposed uppon us : Now if wee refuse the Conditions, which our Freindes will offer to purchase our Constancie, we must hereafter re-

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solve, to take such Conditions as the Enimie will give, though it be to our Losse.

Now if we will needes flatter ourselves, that our Agreeinge to Peace, when the Enimie desires it, can make anie sound and durable League betwixt us, wee shall undoubtedlie saie, when it is to late, *inter victos victoresque nunquam solida fides coalescit*. Add unto the Circumstances of Time, the Circumstances of Persons, and it will easilie appeare, that the Pretence and Beginninge to treat of Peace, without concluding, is like to be verrie gainefull to the Enimie, and verrie prejudiciall to us. First, if he, which is not able to guard his *Indian* Fleetes, may, whilest we are talkinge, have but one or two Returnes in safetie ; if he, which now fees the Strength of *England*, and the *Lowe Countreies*, as they are united, can, for the present, soe sever them in Councell and Affection, as hee maie hereafter more easilie devide them in Partes ; if he, that neaver wantes Mallice, but nowe wanteth Strength, bringe us asleepe, with the Name of Peace, till hee maie rouse us from sleepe with a thunderinge Warre ; his Gaine, and our Losse, by this bare Pretence, will quicklie appeare. Then for Assurance we give the Enimie as good as he can desire ; for in Forbearringe him when hee is weakest, and lettinge goe our Advantages when they are greatest,

greatest, we shew that nothinge can drawe us to Warre, if we maie have Peace. But, on the other Side, if a Nation, that never treated with us, but to deceive us, and that thinkes our Religion but *Heresie*, our Church *Scismaticall*, our Queene excommunicate, foe, as by their owne Principles, they are nether to keepe Faith with us, nor let us receive Good by a Contract with them ; What Assurance, I saie, can we have of such an Enemie, and in such a Bargaine ? First to deceive, and to serve their Turnes, by makinge a Peace, and then breakinge it, they hould it no Fault ; next if they did, the Pope's Dispensation would take it awaie. And lastlie, if the *Spaniard* will keepe a Shewe of good Forme, and not voluntarilie breake Faith, yet, when his Turne is served, the Pope may foe charge him to breake with us, as Conscience and Obedience may cover his Perfidiousnes. Lastlie of all, lett us consider what our Estate and Conditions is like to bee, whensoever that runninge Knott, or unsure Contract doth breake, or dissolve. Doe wee breake ? then saie how grosselie we have bin cosoned, and howe forward the Enimies proude and mischevous Designs are advanced. Doth the Enemie then breake it ? then thinke, that his Engines, unto our State, are all made, and when hee makes them plaie, he will quicklie after give the As-

fault. His Fleete, which nowe is weake, shall be supplied, both with those Gallions he buildes, and all the good Shippes of *Christendome*, that will be bought or hired. His Coffers, that now are emptie, will be soe full of Treasure, as he will be able, not onlie to trouble Kingdomes by Warre, but to purchase them by Moneye. His Ministers, and beste Instruments for Practise, that dare not venter themselves to come over, shall then have free Accessse, and hollow harted Malecontents (if wee have anie that wants Traffique) will be then readie and confident to, entertaine anie Practise. The *Lowe Countreies*, that are now his Enemies, ether universallie by Treacherie, or in Parte by Conquest, shall be reduced to be his obedient Subjects : Our Victories will be forgotten, those Men we have either driven to seeke new Countreies, and new Fortunes, or consumed in a beggerlie, miserable *Irish* Warre. Our Nation grown generallie unwarlike, in love with the Name, and bewitched with the Delight of Peace ; the *Spaniards* Courage recovered, together with the Strength, which is the naturall Roote of all true Confidence.

These, these, worthie Mr. *Bacon*, are my Apprehensions and Doubts, that make me afraid to treat. Let these be answered, cleared and resolved, or anie Man shew me howe we shall

shall have an honorable, safe, and durable
 Peace, and I will imbrace, both it, and him,
 with both my Armes. But till then, I saie,
Iustissimum id bellum, quibus necessarium, &
pia arma quibus nulla nisi in armis spes
est.



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A BRIEF
RELATION
Of the several
SPEECHES

Delivered by the
LORDS of the COUNCELL,
IN THE
STARR-CHAMBER,

The last Sitting in the End of *Michael-*
*mas*s Term, 1599.

IN
Accusation of the Earl of *Essex*,
for the Miscarriages of the Warr
in *IRELAND*.

Printed in the Year MDCCXXIX.

A. B. 1877

RELATION

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The several Speeches delivered by the Lords of the Councell, in the *Starr-Chamber*, the last Sitting in the End of *Michaelmas* Term, 1599.



THE Lords, after longe private Consultation within, about ten of the Clock in the Forenoon, came into the Court; there were present all the Lords of the Councell except the Archbishop. The Court being sett, the Queen's Serjant began to
I make

make a Motion, touching some Cause judicially depending in that Court ; butt was interrupted by my Lord Keeper, who declared publickly, that he was to deliver somethinge of more Importance to the whole Assemblie, and thereuppon be began to speake to this Effect.

The Lord Keeper Egerton.

HIS Lordship first signified her Majestie's Pleasure touching Justices of Peace, that they should repaire every one into his particular Countreie, and keep Hospitalitie this *Christmas*, amongst there poor Neighbours ; and that they should not onelie be Justices of Peace, butt Conservers and Keepers of the Peace, which they cannot doe yf they retire themselves into Townes corporate, out of their Countries where they should serve ; and that he deserved better of the Commonwelthe, that kept Men from Breaking of the Peace, then they that did Justice uppon them that had already broken the Peace.

This, said he, is the generall and common Charge, that I am now to give at this Tyme : But I am to acquaint you now with a Businesse of greater Qualitie and Consequence. GOD hath blessed us with a most wise, a tender, a most vigilant and provident Queene, that doth wish no longer to raigne, then

then ſhee may raigne and live to make her People happie. And this have I often heard out of her own ſacred Mouth ; this is noe new Thing ; yet this we ought to remember continually, with Thankes and Prayſe to GOD Almighty : Neyther would I have thought there had bene any Harte, that had not a religious Feeling of it. Howbeit there be now lately diverſe light Perſons, which haunt the ordinary Tables of this Town, and are ſcarce worth the Meat they eat, that take upon them to censure the Government of this Kingdom, and to tax her ſacred Maſteſtie and Councell of Negligence, and Retchleſſneſs, in ordering principal Affairs of this Eſtate. Theſe Diſcourſers, in their Wiſdoms, find that her Maſteſtie hath not uſed ſuch Judgment, nor ſuch Liberality, as is convenient, in the Adminiſtration of the great Buſineſs of her Kingdom. And not only theſe Diſcourſers at their ordinary Table, but alſo ſome Preachers, in the Pulpitt, have preſumed, beſides their Text, to treat of theſe Matters : And thoſe audacious and wicked Perſons, have not only in their Diſcourſes publickly pronounced their Malice to her Maſteſtie, and the Eſtate of this Kingdom, but they have alſo caſt abroad diverſe Slaunders, and infamous Libells to this Effect, wherein they may be juſtly termed moſt vile and wicked Traytors againſt her Maſteſtie, and

this Commonwealth. For it is well known, to you that are learned in the Laws, that by the ancient common Laws of this Realm, the Spreaders and Sowers of seditious Rumours, whereby the Prince and People may be sett at Variance, and the common Peace disturbed, were ever held as Traytors: And although the Statute of the 25th of *Edward* III. dothe adulife and qualify the Law in that Behalfe; yet, is the Crime not diminished, but remaineth as heinous in the Nature thereof, as ever it was. Neither do these vilanous, false, and wretched Libellors speak traiteiously of the Government in generall only, but they descend to Particularities. They say, that touching the Affairs of *Ireland*, there hath not been such Care and Providence as was meet; wherein although a Prince, and such an absolute Prince, as her Majestie doth scorn to give an Accompt of her Actions to any Person living, but to Almighty GOD only, much less to such unworthy Creatures as these. I, notwithstanding, am commanded by her Majestie to give Satisfaction publicly in this Place. When her Majestie was advertised, that Things grew dangerous, and almost desperate in *Ireland*, howbeit, her Majestie had, in former Times, when her Hands were full of the Warrs of the *Lowe Countreies* and *France*, and that she was to stand upon her

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Guard against *Spaine*, sent such convenient Forces to repress the Beginning of that Rebellion, as were then required: Yet, now at last, she resolved to send a Royall Army, such an Army, as a King's Son might have thought it Honour to Command, with such Plenty, and abundance of Men, Munition, Victualls, Money, and all other Habiliments of Warr, as our ancient Kings went not so well provided to the Conquest of *France*. To command this Army, she chose a Man, in her Opinion, for Sufficiency, and for Fidelity, one of the Worthiest of her Kingdom, that he might want nothing to undergo so great a Charge; she did not only forgive him eight thousand Pounds of his private Debt to her Majestie, but did give him in his private Purse, a Guist to the Value of twenty two thousand Pounds more for his Direction, touching his Carriage and Proceedings in this Great Action; there were Ordinances and Instructions sett down by the Advise of the Councell, the best experienced Men in that Country, and best Men of Warr being first consulted withall; and unto these Directions, himself did willingly and absolutely condiscend, as being the best and most reasonable, ever in his own Judgment, that could be devised. Her Majesty herself, did often Honour the Assembly of her Councell with her own Presence; and if this
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be no Care and Providence in her Majesty, I know not what Pains, what Councell, what Foresight is required in a caretull and provident Prince; neither do I think the Witt or Councell of Man, can intend or reach further then her Majesty hath done in this great Business; but the Success of all this, hath not been prosperous. GOD forbid we should measure all Actions by the Success; let us therefore seek the true Cause of the ill Success, and not rashly and impiously lay the Imputation upon her Majesty, but let the Fault, since there is a Fault, rest where it is, and where it ought to be laid. It was resolved in Councell before his Departure, and agreed unto by himself, that the next and surest Way to extinguish the Rebellion, was to go to the Root, to the Seat and Residence of the Arch Rebel, which was in *Ulster*. This was concluded in Councell, and with this Resolution, went he into *Ireland*. When he arrived there contrary to his Resolution, he drew his Army into *Munster*, where by little and little, he wasted his Men, Money, and Munition; insomuch, as in the latter End of the Year, when he prepared to go against the chief Rebel, his Army was so weak, and his Provision of Warr so slender and mean, as that the Rebel grew Insolent upon his Approach, having certain Knowledge of his Weakness, the being so weak
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to fight with the Enemy, made him enter into private Conference with him, and so treat with him, touching Composition, wherein the proud Traytor propounded such Conditions as were most dishonourable for her Majesty to yeild unto: Immediately thereupon, he returned into *Egnland* against her Majesty's expresse Commandment, which was a Contempt of a very high Nature; within two Days after his Return, which was upon *Michaelmas* Eve, the Rebell did not doubt to give out these insolent Speeches, that he doubted not shortly to shew his Face in *England*, and to have a good Share in *England* himself. This cannot be excused as done by the general Advise of the Councell there, for since his Return the Councell there, have signified and advertised under there Hands, that they were not acquainted with any of these Proceedings. Then the Imputation of the ill Success is not to be laid upon her Majestie, but rather upon some other Cause, where it ought to be laid. And therefore I am commanded to give you Charge, that are here present, that when you come into your severall Countries, you will give this Satisfaction, to all her Majestie's well affected Subjects, that these infamous Rumours, and Libells, may not diminish the general conceived Opinion of her Care and Providence over her People. And likewise I am to Charge
you,

you, that bear Office in the Commonwealth, to harken after these Libellers, and to give Information of them, and of such as *præbere aures* to them, that such Punishment may be inflicted, as such seditious Persons deserve.

The Lord Treasurer Buckhurst.

I have a Purpose (said he) to speak to that only which concerns the Office which her Majesty, of her Grace hath bestowed upon me. And to shew her Care and Providence, I will shew particularly how royall and bountifull she hath been, in setting forth this Royall Army which will appear, if we consider the Men, Munition, Mony, Apparel, and Victuals were imployed and spent in this Journey of *Ireland*,

Men, 1600 Foot, 1300 Horse, besides the voluntary *English*, and all the Nobility and Gentry of *Ireland*, except one Baron, and one Viscount.

Munition, twelve Peices of Ordinance, the like never seen in *Ireland*, and a two hundred Last of Powder, the like Proportion never allowed since the Conquest.

Apparell, 21000 Suites allowed for Winter and Summer, yet they went in *February*.

Victuall, three Months Victuall had he ever before Hand. If any were corrupt, it were

was refused, and fresh provided. The Victual in seven Months came to two and thirty thousand Pounds.

Treasure, he carried with him two and fifty thousand Pounds, being always three Months Pay before hand, my Lord himself acknowledged in his Letters to the Councell. So that whereas the King of *Spain*, the richest Prince in *Europe*, hath been often so much indebted to his Souldiers, as they have mutinyed, where this Royall Army of ours was ever paid before hand, and wanted nothing that the most discontented Souldiers could require. In Defalcation my Lord hath two thousand five hundred Pounds in his Handes, besides three Months Pay before hand, which is two and fifty thousand Pounds and more ; the whole Summe of her Majestie's Expences is three hundred thousand Pounds in seven Months : Therefore he concluded there was no Fault in her Majesty.

The Lord Admirall Nottingham.

His Lordshipp remembered how confident my Lord of *Essex* was. How he said, that if he might have such Power as was granted him, he would make the Earthe tremble underneath him, and that he would make an End of that War. That since he took a contrary Course,

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to that which was resolved, wherein his Lordshipp, in his Judgment blamed, that the Lord of *Ormond's* Councell was not used therein, that thereby two such Blows were given, as *England* never received the like Dishonour, as that of *Harrington* and *Clifford*, that the Forces were so weakned in *Munster*, as that he had scarce three thousand to go for the *North* Journey. That upon the Parley, such dishonourable Conditions were propounded, specially that of Tolleration of Religion, as that he was assured (by GOD) the Queen would hazard her own Person, and dye amongst them, rather then she would suffer it to be granted. He did not forget the Charge of her Majestie's Fleet, in transporting of the Army, and there Attendance on the *North* Coast of *Ireland*.

Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon.

His Opinion was, that this Army, with such a Spirit, as my Lord of *Essex* might pass thro' *Spain*, and endanger that Kingdome.

The Comptroller.

To the same Effect.

Mr. Secretary Cecill.

When I heard my Lord Keeper (says he) as the Mouth of her Majesty, deliver so distinctly,

ly, fully, and significantly what her Majestie had given him in Charge, I had purpose to be silent, but when I perceived my Lords, one after another, according to their Place, Quality, and Knowledge, to speak severally, by Way of Addition, I resolved to break Silence, which though it imports a Consent, yet is not significant inough to expresse my Duty. There are Things that are proper to me, and inseperable from my Person, which move me to speak. The one my Place, whereby I am acquainted with the Business of this Kingdom; and the other the Obligation and Duty to her Majesty, which is by so much the greater, by how much the less, I do deserve her Favour. It goes against my Heart to speak in this Cause, but when my Sovereign's Honour is in Question I cannot be silent. I protest, before GOD and his Angells, I am sorry for the Cause. It is usuall, for the Time, that my Lord Keeper should deliver some Charge for the Justices of the Peace; but I dare assure, that his Lordship knew not that he was to speak of this Matter, till within a few Hours before he came into this Court.

The Children of the Devill (for I wott not by what other Name I may term them properly, for the Nature of the Devill is known, and the Signification of the Name *Diabolus*) these wicked Spirits go about to insinuate into

the Scum, and Offall of the People, Matter of Shame, and Dishonour against her Majestie, not directly against her Majestie, but against her Actions, her Councells, and her Ministers.

To these Kind of Persons we are to give Satisfaction, not to Noblemen, nor Gentlemen, nor to Lawiers, nor to Souldiers, I mean these that have the Name of Souldiers, for Persons of their Sort and Quality, never were Sturrers of Sedition, or Rebellion in this Kingdom. But if we look into the Stories of this State, wee shall find, that Coblers and Tynkers, *Jack Straw* and *Watt Tyler*, and such as *Cade*, have been the Stirrers of the People to Commotion. They give out, that the Queen cares not for Souldiers, which is most false; for she hath ever given them Favour and Rewards, according to their deservings. But in giving this Satisfaction, in her Majestie's Behalf, yf I shall seem to any to make any Aspersion upon any publick Person, I pray you all to interpret my Speeches charitably, for I mean charitably. It was sayde commonly, that *Ireland* was lost by Droppings, and niggardly Supplies of Souldiers, and that a Royall Army would make an End of the Warres : It is certain, that within these few Years her Majestie held *Ireland* in as good Terms, as I could wish she should hold it, as well as her Sister, her Brother,
or

or her Father did ; and no longer ago then in Sir *John Parratt's* Time, it was kept in good Quiet with eight hundred Souldiers, and now, since this Rebellion, as soon as she had ended her Warrs with *France*, and the *Lowe Countries*, which she had continued a long Time, since 88, hath spent three Million four hundred thousand Pounds : So that it appeareth her Treasure hath not been robbed (as it hath been said). There were three Subsidies granted the last Parliament, the Queen hath spent two of them in eight Months, not to conquer *Utopias*, but to defend her Kingdoms left her by her Ancestors. It hath been said, in antient Times, there hath been returned to the Crown, thirty thousand Pounds a Year out of *Ulster*. It is a Fable fitt to be registred in *Legenda Aurea*. But with all this Charge, how hath the Warr been prosecuted ? In *Aprill* the Army landed, from that Month, till *August*, the Rebell was never attempted ; he sat still in his Castle, and sent out the Offal of his Army, a Rapsodie of Raskalls, and Villains, which gave us all the Blows. It was not *Tyrone*, nor his Lords of the *North*, which did annoy us ; *Farrington's* Disaster was wrought by the Son of a *Mountain Kerne* ; the Son of *Feoff Mack-Few*, and not by any of the great Rebells : In *Canough* six hundred overthrew * * * * but against the Queen's Army not
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any Thing at all was atchived. But what is that to the Purpose, if Things were so carried as that the Army fell with its own Weight ; for the Harrafings of it, up and down, spent the Flower and Pride of it, and lost the Oppertunity. After all this he returned without Licence, and not without Licence only, but also against her Majestie's expresse Commandment. Yett I hear some say, he had Liberty to return under the Great Seal ; indeed he had her Majestie's Letters to that Effect, she meant not to confine him to a miserable Country ; there might be many Occasions of his Return, his Health, his Presence, in Councell, or some other speciall Occasion might have revoked him : But now, when she saw his Presence, there was the only Means to hold together the distracted Members of that Kingdom, She wrote unto him, and commanded him by her Letters, upon his Duty and Alleagance, not to return, till she had constituted a fit Person in his Place, to take that Charge in hand, which she would do, immediately upon receipt of his Answer to these Letters. And I protest, before GOD, I do verily beleive it, if he had staid but twenty Days longer, her Majestie had revoked him of her own voluntary Disposition. Now, as soon as he was returned, the Rebells began to contemn the Truce he had made, having Notice
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of his Restraint, for my Lord came to the Court the twenty seventh of *September*, and on the twenty ninth of *September* the Rebell spake these Words to one *Warren*, a Man that he trusted above all Men living, That he hoped shortly to shew his Face in *England*, and also to have a good Share in *England*. What Devill, or Angell, could cary News of my Lord's Restraint before the Words were spoken, when they were spoken almost at the Instant when my Lord was first commanded to his Lodgings : It may easily appear, that his Intent was false and *Tyrones*, when wee consider of his Demands. He demands Pardon for all his Confederates, in which Demands he includes not only the Rebels of the *North*, but all that are out in any Parts of *Ireland*. He would keep his Title *Oneale*, whereas it is Treason, by Act of Parliament there, to be called by that Name, whereby he challengeth a Superioritie above all ; yett are there as great Men in *Munster*, as ever that Family was in *Ulster* : For Tolleration of Religion, why should he require it ? It is most usuall amongst them to haunt *Mafs* there without Controulment ; there is no *Inquisition* to restrain them from it. It was therefore a plain Mockery ; he demanded Tolleration of that which was never prohibited. So he concluded, in Praise of her Majestie's Care, and Love of her

her People, and in condemning the Libellors.

Sir John Fortescue.

His Speech was very brief, and much to the Effect of that which was delivered by my Lord Treasurer, as being a Matter proper to his Knowledge, by Reason of his Office.

He first affirmed, that he was not called to the Place of a Councillor, when these Matters were first debated, and since hath not been often present in Councell, by Reason of other Imployments ; yett, though he came but seldom, he understood of the Passages of the Busineses there. Yett he understood no more then is generally known, that *Ireland* was now in worse Plight, then when the Army first landed. He invayed much against Libellors, and desired Information and Reformation of them. And concluded, with some Praise of her Majestie's Providence, with some Passion and Tears in his Eyes,

This is the Summ and Substance of what was spoken by all the Lords ; collected in brief Notes, and hastily drawn into Discourse, wanting much of the Form and Eloquence, which gave speciall Grace, to every speciall Speech as it was delivered

F I N I S.

